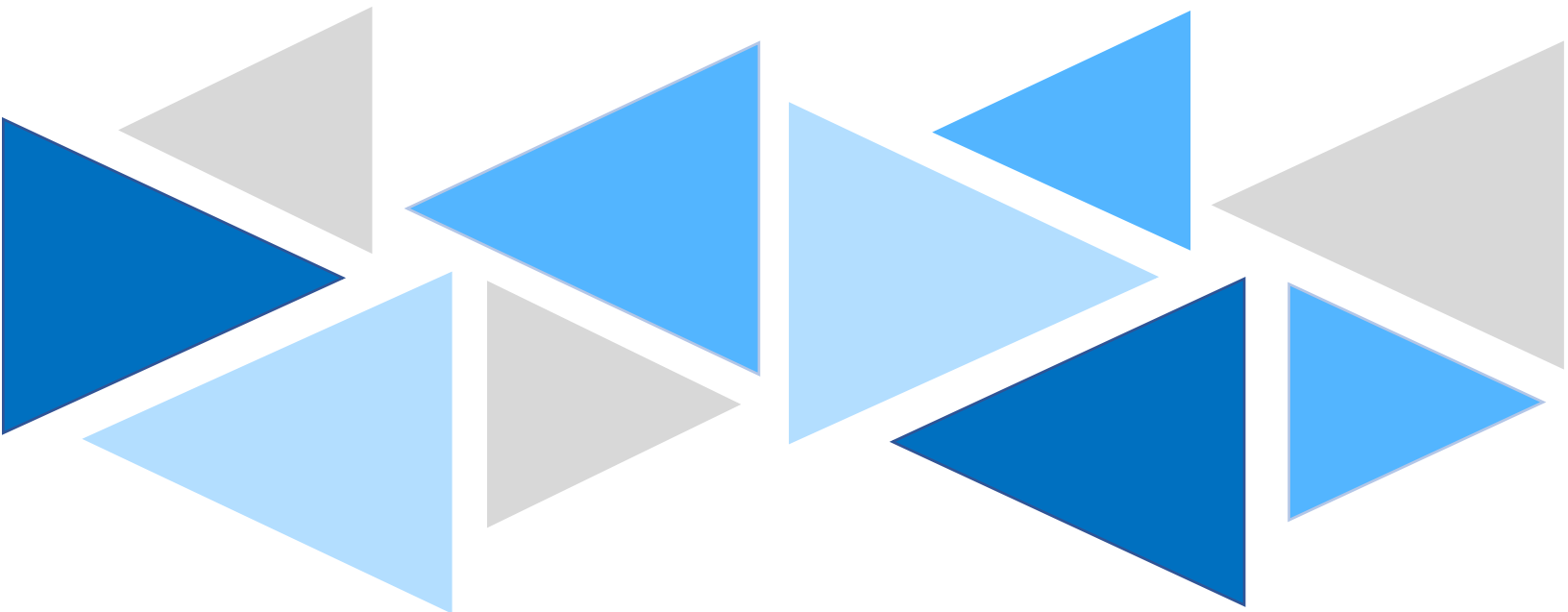


Case Study: Senegal

Evolution of the Citizen Movement for Term Limits in Senegal after the 2012 Presidential Election:

The June 23 Movement (M23)

Prepared by
Dr. Abdoul Wahab Cissé, *Consultant*



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The June 23 Movement - also known as the M23 - was created as a result of President Abdoulaye Wade's third candidacy in the 2012 presidential election. It was started in 2011 at a time when the majority Senegalese opinion and the political class led President Wade to want to remain in power. This was through his controversial constitutional reform project which was supposed to ensure his election and the handover of power to his son after his departure. This reform of the constitution was supposed to reduce to 25% the minimum threshold of votes needed in the first round to elect a "presidential ticket" comprising a president and a vice-president and thus ensure that Wade father and son would remain in power.

In this context, the June 23 Movement is an unprecedented mobilization in Senegal. Non-political citizens, civil society organizations (e.g. RADDHO, Forum Civil, etc.) and political parties mobilized around the parliament gates to demand that MPs withdraw the draft reform. The alliance between civil society organizations, emerging citizen movements and opposition political parties was decisive in the success of the mobilization.

The main agenda of the mobilization was the reform and protection of the institutions and the promotion of the rule of law through respect for the constitution. It was therefore the question of governance that was at the heart of the demands, unlike traditional mobilizations that were more often concerned with "economic" issues or corporatist interests. The June 23 Movement opened a new page in the Senegalese citizens' movement and paved the way for new mobilizations that are now seeking to protect the gains made (monitoring of term limits, etc.) or to promote new demands for sovereignty, transparency in the management of natural resources, etc.

The approaches used by the Senegalese citizen movement are numerous. But what characterizes them is their peaceful nature, even if violence and deaths occur at times. The other characteristic of their approach is the importance placed on dialogue and mediation. Situations of deadlock and chaotic confrontation have been resolved thanks to the expressed will of the citizen movement and the opposition to build consensus to preserve stability. Civil society has made mediation an asset in its set of good practices. The latest was the one undertaken in collaboration with the Senegalese private sector that enabled the opposition to cancel a street demonstration so feared by the majority of Senegalese.

Senegalese civil society has maintained its credibility from political parties despite attempts to discredit it. It has managed to fight in alliance with the opposition while maintaining relative autonomy. It also engages in dialogue with the government in power and uses religious and traditional legitimacy when necessary to resolve crises and promote the rule of law.

The digitalisation of debates on governance and highly political issues was an important shift noted in the modes of action of the citizen movement. The new generation of actors in the citizen movement, while needing training in the regulation of speech on social networks and the missions of civil society, is advancing the public debate on major issues (term limits, monetary sovereignty, governance of natural resources, respect for the Constitution and institutions, etc.). It is currently using networks as tools for sharing and creating spaces for citizen debate. There are also abuses in the use of these social networks (invective, insults, defamation etc.). This situation fully justifies the importance of training within the citizen movement but also within political parties.

RECOMMENDATIONS

TO CIVIL SOCIETY

1. Support young actors within citizen movements with trainings, to gain a better understanding of legislation, and governing the use of social networks in particular;
2. Support organizations (associations, NGOs, grassroots community organisations, CSOs) (leaders) in terms of capacity building and resources to broaden their repertoires of action and project themselves throughout the national territory;
3. Educate activists and young people to clearly understand the rules of using public spaces to avoid actions that leads to violence (looting, vandalism, barricades, etc.);
4. Share experiences between more experienced leaders of citizen movements and youth (in situ or online conferences);
5. Consider internal funding mechanisms for civil society organisations to avoid their heavy dependence on foreign funding;

TO PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

6. Further document, codify and share mediation practices within civil society in Senegal and elsewhere;
7. Highlight and enhance the mediation role of religious and customary legitimacy as actors in civil society;
8. Contribute to the creation, identification, preservation and transmission of endogenous norms and practices that can pacify the public space (see the Charter of the Mandé of 1236 "Never betray one another. Keep your promises").

INTRODUCTION

The need for stable and alternating democratic systems has been expressed for several decades on the African continent. This aspiration is supported by the classical political parties but, for almost two decades, it has been increasingly driven by citizen movements.

Alternation as such is no longer an end in itself for protests. The latter are increasingly defending the idea of a consolidating alternation that allows for qualitative leaps in governance and democratic practices. This new demand by African citizens can be explained by the misuse of democratic processes.

Many of the political changes that have taken place on the continent following transparent and well-organised presidential elections have led to unconstitutional changes or crises. Constitutional reforms purposely made to perpetuate established powers are often singled out as one of the main causes. In the face of such unconstitutional changes, citizen movements are emerging to monitor and defend the constitutional order. In Senegal, civil society took the initiative to fight against the third term of office that President Abdoulaye Wade wanted to give himself. It played a forefront role before being heavily joined by the political parties.

This study analyses the dynamics of the contemporary Senegalese citizen movement and aims to share the lessons learned from the major movements in recent years and to identify the challenges facing civil society in general as well as the good practices noted.

I. THE JUNE 23, 2011 DEMONSTRATION: *AN UNPRECEDENTED CITIZEN COMMITMENT*

1. Background and process

June 23, 2011 is a pivotal date in the political history of Senegal. It was a large demonstration by Senegalese citizens in front of the Parliament gates to challenge what was seen as the will of the incumbent president to remain in power. Indeed, it was claimed that President Wade intended to establish a ticket for the 2012 presidential election. A spontaneous mobilization of Senegalese residents with no political affiliation was observed. The entire Senegalese elite was present and intended to demonstrate in a peaceful, civic and democratic manner. At the same time as the demonstration was taking place, some leaders from civil society and political parties were also negotiating with President Wade, whose open-mindedness was unanimously welcomed. Icons such as Youssou Ndour and very popular movements such as the young people of Y'en A Marre supported the initiative of the demonstration from the beginning. These young people, with their extraordinary energy, commitment and creativity, had become an unstoppable force for citizenship and republicanism.

It is important to reflect on the choice of the peaceful approach that marked the June 23 movement. But also on the political actors' belief that change through the ballot box was possible. The June 23 protest was a decisive turning point for the 2012 presidential elections. The success of the M23 (the name given to the movement) was first and foremost an electoral success because the presidential elections ended up sanctioning the outgoing candidate. The credibility of the leaders who headed the movement also greatly encouraged the Senegalese to participate in the June 23 movement. Some of them have the experience and skills to build consensus among stakeholders. They enjoy the confidence of the government, the opposition and civil society.

The Senegalese political opposition also played an important role in the protest of June 23 2011. From the election of President Wade in 2000 to 2011, a body to bring together all opposition forces was put in place and brought political forces together to denounce the practices of bad governance that were already visible. Another thing that demonstrated the success of the opposition parties in the June 23 demonstration was the fact that they had put forward civil society actors to reassure the public opinion and give relevant guidance to their struggle. This had the success of creating a hub of political parties and reassuring the population. It also had the benefit of creating a certain separation between political parties and reassuring the population. It was a new dynamic because it was only politicians (both men and women) who carried the fight against the various opposition organisations, yet it was practically the first time ever that politicians and civil society members collaborated together.

There is also the press that has played an important role in providing information and alerting the population on how important public opinion is. These are the various factors that contributed to the success of the citizen movement. It is important to remember that the cooperation between political parties and social movements was consolidated through national meetings, and that opposing political groups had this ease of exchange with citizens movements. Because the ruling party had bluntly refused to attend the national conference, this produced a type of collusion between the citizen movements and the political parties, particularly the opposition. And one of the issues of the national convention was the preservation of term limits. This was one of the conference's strongest recommendations.

Another key factor that contributed to the success of the June 23 protest was the creation of the "Y'en A Marre" movement. "Y'en A Marre" emerged to fill a gap between conventional political parties and regular citizens, as well as the bureaucratization of civil society. It grew in the wake of power outages and poor governance practices. It evolved into a new framework for expressing citizenship that went beyond the previous frameworks and allowed for criticism of authorities. It has achieved widespread acceptance. "Y'en A Marre" offered a communication approach that allowed young people to be engaged in new topics such as democracy, the rule of law, elections, and, in particular, concerns related to the governance of the state.

2. : The modes of action used

2.a: The case of Y'en a Marre

Citizen movements in Senegal use a variety of tactics to make their voices heard, including protests, sit-ins, rap concerts, and murals. For example, the Y'en a Marre movement has advocated the term "New Type of Senegalese" (NTS) or "New Type of Citizen" (NTC) from its inception, aiming to demonstrate the necessity for a new civic conduct, particularly among youth. It tries to influence people's attitudes and behaviors, as well as making residents aware of their rights and responsibilities. The term also intends to encourage the creation of new ways for citizen engagement with political decision-making (Touré 2017).

The organization of a "foire aux problèmes" at the Place de l'Obélisque is one example. Citizen groups such as Y'en a Marre first expanded its mobilization capabilities to the student milieu and the youth who had adopted the hip-hop movement and its music. Given the youth of the large majority of the population, this mobilization potential grew as Y'en a Marre opened up to different groups and expanded its channels of communication, such as the issue fair. Every Wednesday, thousands of Senegalese gathered on the Place de l'Obélisque to protest. Y'en A Marre used hip hop concerts, door to door, and "Dox Sa Goxx" to mobilize and inform residents in the areas (Walk in your neighborhood).

2.b: Alliances with political parties and networking

The M23 citizen movement's actors understood the importance of forming relationships with various political parties that came to join the movement. This collaboration with other political forces made mobilizing the people easier. There was a coordinating formula that handed the occupation of the field to the political forces within the framework of the movement. The M23's institutional character was managed by civil society. The public's support was extremely valuable in the context of this movement. The Senegalese had eventually stated that it was not politics, but citizen forces that had risen to restore order.

Networking also helped the creation and intensification of these citizen movements. They established tiny networks and distributed them to other places. This is why, whenever there was a protest in Dakar, it was mirrored across the country's major cities, creating an overall effect and a form of influence through the media. As a result of these strategies, collective consciousness and movements at the national level started to develop.

2.c: The use of the media

A common mode of action is the communication of all acts carried out via social media and traditional media. There was some sort of collusion with a specific press, which was even suspected of seeking to destabilise power. Other types of citizen engagement, such as the creation of musical hits, such as the albums of Keurgui and Xuman, attracted a significant following. All of this helped to rally the masses. Finally, it is crucial to note the preaching of certain imams or priests in favour of constitutional mandates and national stability.

3. : The influence of women's leadership in citizen movements

There were significant women among the first core of actors with whom reflections on the country's position had begun. They have played a critical part in the citizen mobilizations that have occurred since 2011. Women's leadership has already distinguished itself in relation to major social or political concerns (economic, violence against women, reform of the family code, peace in Casamance, parity, and strengthening women's political involvement).

The limitations faced by women in the political space have started to fade with the creation and movement of women's organisations within civil society. Organisations such as the Senegalese Council of Women (COSEF) and the Siggil Jiggen Network have directed their actions within society against the marginalisation of women. COSEF has initiated citizen actions inviting women who are members of political parties but also those who are not partisan to join an organisation in order to position themselves as a political pressure force.

The vote in the National Assembly on Friday, May 14, 2010, of the law on parity, which enshrines "the absolute equality of candidacies of men and women in all fully or partially elective institutions" (Law No. 2010/11), enabled women's leadership to win the battle for parity. Noncompliance with electoral lists results in their inadmissibility. Furthermore, non-respect for parity is one of the factors of the present dispute surrounding the rejection of candidate lists for the legislative elections in July 2022. Since 2011, female individuals have shared leadership of social movements during numerous citizen mobilizations.

Certain women's organizations, such as COSEF, have organized question-and-answer sessions with presidential candidates on problems affecting women and children. In 2019, the Casamance Women's Platform engaged in the same activity, for example, by collaborating with youth organizations to increase awareness about their behavior during elections. This is also the position of the Platform, which met with all of the candidates for mayor of Ziguinchor, Oussouye, and Bignona during the recent local elections.

The exposition of the circumstances of the June 23 movement's formation, evolution, and modalities of activity used demonstrates the capacities of the Senegalese citizen movement on highly political issues. What are the definite advantages and challenges of Senegal's citizen movement eleven years later, in light of this historic June 23 experience?

4. New movements after June 23

The 2012 election victory began on June 23, 2012. Nonetheless, the leaders of the movement saw the necessity to keep a close check on electoral promises such as term limits and the development of the rule of law. This is why new civic mobilizations were occurring. The formation of the Movement for the Defense of Democracy (M2D) and the June 23 remembrance celebrations, during which the COS M23 and organisations like the Senegalese Social Forum recall the unrealized objectives of the June 23 agenda, are examples of these mobilizations. Political parties, citizen movements, civil society organisations, activists, and independent personalities form the M2D (Aar sunu Democratie).It embodies all of the sociological sensitivities of the Senegalese people, who responded massively to calls to peacefully demonstrate in defence of democracy, liberties, and pluralism through an opposition that opposes a ruling administration.

The M2D is a pacifist, legalist and republican movement¹. It is a framework for action that was created following the arrest of MP Ousmane Sonko for disturbing public order on 3 March 2021. It then became a coalition of several political actors and members of civil society. "*We are not meant to be there forever,*" said **Cheikh Tidiane Dièye**, one of the leaders of the M2D. The coalition has "*a specific mission defined in time and space*". The collective calls for "synergy", and aims to become "more powerful" **than the M23 in 2011/2012**, the protest movement that fought against a third term of office for the then president, Me Abdoulaye Wade².

This movement mediated what became known as "the events of March 2021" by meeting with religious leaders and following their appeasement recommendations. These new forms of mobilization, such as the M2D, demonstrate that, despite its shortcomings, June 23 remains the textbook case, the model that inspires and serves as a model.

II. Major achievements and challenges of the citizen movement

1. Major achievements

Today, the movements can be content with favorable outcomes. The march has been constitutionalized thanks to the multiple initiatives of citizen movements. With their permission, political parties, civil society organizations, and activists can demonstrate without fear of arrest.

It was also highlighted that the citizens' movement's mobilizations and demands were peaceful, despite the fact that violence and deaths were occasionally reported. The improvements in the delivery of key priority public services (water, electricity) have been attributed in part to community mobilization. The notion of two consecutive terms was also incorporated in the June 23 citizen movement. Nowadays, it appears that the majority of Senegalese are in support of limiting tenure to two consecutive terms.

Aside from these accomplishments, Senegal has made strides in the field of mediation, unlike some African countries that have suffered democratic issues. For some of them, civil society organizations have been able to provide a framework for dialogue and mediation. This policy has enabled the country to deal with a number of crises that may have jeopardized the Senegalese democratic process. In addition, several social movements have institutionalized themselves by attaining legal status as associations or non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This is the situation with FRAPP France Dégage, M23. These are legally recognized movements. This is also a remarkable accomplishment.

¹ https://www.impact.sn/M2D-SENEGAL-Le-Memorandum-des-evenements-de-fevrier-mars-2021-DOCUMENT_a26452.html (accessed on 27/06/22)

² <https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20210311-senegal-m2d-genese-objectifs-ousmane-sonko-mouvement-defense-democratie> (accessed on 28/06/22)

2. The challenges of the citizen movement

The most difficult problem is maintaining the citizen movement's legitimacy and transparency. Moreover, in the face of the growth of associations and civil society groups, citizen movements must encourage excellent internal governance (distribution of roles, renewal of decision-making bodies), as well as diversify funding sources.

The most difficult problem is maintaining credibility, and social movements must also take care of their image. Indeed, it is critical that they maintain their image in the eyes of the public by fighting honorably and correctly. For some time, the population has seen causes of violence in various citizen movement mobilizations. Combating discrimination is one of the issues that citizen movements such as "AAR Liniu Bokk" or FRAPP³. The authorities use this perception, which is supported by a segment of the people, to justify the restrictions they intend to impose on public freedoms. Also, there is agitation in the country regarding the risks of spreading sub-regional security concerns. This condition presents a significant legitimacy hurdle for citizen mobilizations. To avoid stigmatization, leaders of citizen movements must engage in a process of communication and persuasion on the legitimacy and legality of their collective acts.

A growing range of civil society citizen movements is also a reality. A variety that can be described by the wars fought and the strategies employed. Faced with this reality, civil society's ability to establish common ground on fundamental problems is called into question. Is it possible that it will be able to recreate the same unitary dynamic seen in 2011 if a new disruption occurs?

Some believe that a type of regulation inside civil society is required to reestablish this unitary dynamic. There is talk of one civil society aligned with the government and another with the opposition. For example, for the June 23 commemoration, two camps clashed over the event's partnership. The public's impression of citizens' movements' "politicization" is at stake in the movements' citizens. Moreover, many residents consider that participation in citizen movements is frequently self-serving. They mention different leaders of the June 23 citizen movement who have entered politics and are engaged within the ruling coalition to support this trend. Some are critical of the ties of the citizen movement with the opposition parties.

By criticizing the posture of certain civil society organisations for their alleged or actual proximity to political parties, Senegalese public opinion expresses its desire for civil society to maintain its impartiality and equidistance with political parties. Figures of citizen movements, on the other hand, are competing for elective mandates. Does this imply that they have realized that their efforts can continue in more formalized places, such as the National Assembly? Is the citizen movement aware of the importance of being present in Parliament? The general public suspects that some actors have a self-serving civic commitment. But, in the eyes of the public, citizen engagement should be altruistic.

Finally, another critical task for Senegalese civil society is training and renewing civic commitment. According to some of the testimonials gathered, civil society in the 1980s benefited from extensive training assistance from the African Commission on Human Rights. These training focused on what civil society is, its role, missions, and the legal framework that governs its own operations.

³ Front for a Popular and Pan-African Anti-Imperialist Revolution (FRAPP)

3. The actors of citizen movements and the risks :

Individuals engaging in citizen mobilization suffer serious dangers. Several of them were killed in the protests in 2012, others were injured, and many more were imprisoned. Several young individuals have also lost their jobs as a result of this conflict.

Moreover, successive regimes have historically suppressed demonstrations. Several activists have had their lives or physical integrity threatened. In addition to arbitrary arrests and torture, government officials face threats of relocation or assignment to the most remote regions of the nation, particularly in Eastern Senegal (Tambacounda, Kédougou, and Bakel). They are frequently the target of death threats.

In addition to security concerns, campaigners were subjected to blackmail. There are attempts to bribe or even professionally pressure protestors. They may face arrests and threats, as well as attacks and attempts to disrupt their movements. At least, that's what we learned from our interviews with several of them. Several individuals have been barred from leaving the country. NGOs are occasionally accused of receiving covert funding.

4. Access to finance as a threat

Other sources of threat, such as civil society's reliance on foreign finance, heighten the risks of deprivation, physical attacks, and other forms of harassment faced by people active in citizen movements. This is primarily a financial risk, such as not having the funds to carry out their duties. As a result, civil society organizations are caught between a rock and a hard place. On the one hand, the government criticizes them for receiving foreign funding, which dictate their agenda. On the other side, the Senegalese civil society receives no government funding.

Some of the civil society participants we talked with cited nations where civil society is subsidized. In this context, one of the participants we met for the sake of this study shares his thoughts on civil society financing:

We are willing to stop collecting subsidies from foreign companies and firms, but we have no alternative because our members do not have the means to manage all of the activities we carry out, said the leader of a civil society organization. He also refutes the charge that CSOs are promoting a foreign agenda. We talk with the donor and stick to our principles since this is not a job where we have no say. We discuss with the donor and we stay true to our ideals because this is not a job where we have no say. We go over all of our projects step by step, and by the way, we are the ones that develop them; we say what we want to do, and the donor comes to us if he is interested in what we do. But I don't remember ever hearing a landlord tell to us: "this is what I want you to do". This is a horrible test for civil society. It is only to weaken or damage our credibility, but in reality, we have always had our own programs and gone to donors, but there is no relationship of submission to them.

According to this actor, the main issue confronting civil society is its ties with African states. The absence of support from African states limits civil society's independence and ability to pursue a homegrown agenda. As a result, several civil society players have proposed finding alternative internal funding channels, such as tax benefits for individuals who financially support civil society.

These critical analyses of the state and future of the civilian movement do not obscure the fact that Senegalese civil society in general, and the civilian movement in particular, have developed practices that are regarded favorably by the actors and have the potential to inspire other African contexts and countries. The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) Self-Assessment Report examines Senegalese civil society in depth. According to the report, civil society is vibrant and influential; however, it is hoped that it will move away from politics and incorporate the rural world more in all levels of its activities. Indeed, civil society organizations have played a critical role in Senegal's democratic transition. The surveys done as part of the self-evaluation are extremely informative. Indeed, civil society organizations are independent for more than 50% of Senegalese. They also advocate for communication, a nonviolent attitude, and adherence to the legal framework.

5. The legal framework and the citizen movements

A first level of analysis can be made through the following legal and regulatory framework:

- Article 10 of the Constitution: "Everyone has the right to express and disseminate their opinions freely by word, pen, image and peaceful march, provided that the exercise of these rights does not prejudice the honour and consideration of others or public order".

Article 8 of the Constitution of January 22, 2001 recognizes and guarantees the right to freedom of assembly as a civil and political right to all Senegalese people. It, like all essential individual liberties, is exercised under the legal framework (Article 8 paragraph 3). The acceptance of a freedom of demonstration specified in article 10 reinforces this freedom of assembly. The legislation distinguishes between private meetings held in a private location that do not require any special formality and public meetings that must be declared in advance if they represent gatherings on the public highway.

According to the provisions of Criminal Code sections 92 et seq., the declaration must be made to the administrative entity responsible for keeping public order in the territory where the event is to take place at least three clear days and no more than fifteen clear days before the event date.

The Senegalese legislator has taken his rationale of ensuring the right to freedom of assembly a step further by forcing the administrative body to justify any action that impedes the exercise of this freedom. Furthermore, this judgment is subject to judicial review for abuse of power.

- Ministerial Order No. 7580, dated July 20, 2011, was issued in response to protests against constitutional amendments that would allow President Abdoulaye Wade to run for a third time. The order, which prohibits all "political" protests in downtown Dakar, where most government facilities are located, has served as the foundation for several demonstration restrictions imposed by civil society organizations and political parties over the past 11 years. On September 4, 2019, Senegal's Supreme Court ruled that an appeal for the revocation of the decree filed by the

Senegalese section of Amnesty International and the Senegalese League for Human Rights was inadmissible (LSDH)

A second level of study calls into question the legal and regulatory framework's effectiveness.

- Marching rights: the principle is authorization; the exception is prohibition. In practice, however, the restriction becomes the rule and the authorization the exception. This is the issue of efficiency.
- a distorted interpretation of the regulations, as well as a violation of the same rules by the authorities.
- disregard for community commitments: disregard for the March 31, 2022 decision of the ECOWAS Court of Justice requesting the repeal of the ministerial decree n° 7580 of July 20, 2011 prohibiting "political demonstrations" in downtown Dakar, between Avenue El Hadj Malick Sy and Cap Manuel, and prescribing a protective perimeter.

6. Good practices in Senegalese civil society

Citizen movements in Senegal have learned from past mistakes to **integrate training and capacity building sessions into their programmes in collaboration with technical partners**. This strategy to train and boost citizen awareness has had a positive influence on sub-regional popular mobilization.

Several citizen groups, such as "Y'en A Marre," have formed alliances with counterparts in West and Central Africa. They bring and get support and assistance from various movements around the world. For example, in July 2018, the first edition of the Université Populaire de l'Engagement Citoyen (UPEC) was held in Dakar under the leadership of the four movements (Y en A Marre, Balai Citoyen, Filimbi, Lucha). The participation of over twenty other citizen movements demonstrates a strong desire to establish a pan-African dynamic of struggle, as well as an agenda of demands and modes of action that ignores linguistic divides, national barriers, contingencies of national histories, and local political conjunctions.

On this day, the pan-African platform "Afrikki mwinda" was established. This enabled the Senegalese Section of the National Front for the Defense of the Constitution in Guinea (FNDC) and Senegalese citizen organizations (Y en a marre, Frapp/France Dégage, Senegalese Social Forum, Afrikajom Center, and others) to support the Guinean people in their fight against President Alpha Condé's third term.

Additional acceptable methods include peaceful mobilization, voter sensitization, and taking any effort that promotes peace and stability. Additional good practices include engagement with stakeholders, boosting public awareness about the importance of voting in all elections, and sustaining action frameworks.

Another good practice that Senegalese civil society has adopted is the practice of mediation. COSCE (Collective of Civil Society Organizations for Elections) pulled aside in the issue over President Wade's third term in 2011, saying that if there is ever a need for mediation, it should not be that the entire civil society is engaged in the struggle. According to the leaders of this institution, they were in solidarity, but they recognized the value of mediation. To avert the Ivorian catastrophe, they organized a mediation team (two camps without mediators). They wanted to

maintain an equal distance beginning in 2012. Their collaboration with the government in charge of elections enabled them to test this mediation position.

The attitude of the ministry in charge of elections enabled a contract to be established between the various territory administrations and COSCE. When the COSCE team in the "situation room" reported a problem in the field with their observers, the COSCE team in the "situation room" contacted the governor, the prefect, or the sub-prefect immediately, and He remedied the deficient condition. COSCE was able to gather together as many civil society leaders as possible, even those outside its own circle, allowing them to communicate with the territory command under the authority of the elections, demonstrating open collaboration.

To mediate in various crises, civil society organizations have met with the President of the Republic, leaders of religious brotherhoods, or the church through representative bodies. Partnerships are also being forged between young, newly founded organizations and older, more experienced ones. This is an excellent practice since it allows the former to take advantage of capacity-building opportunities in a variety of areas.

Several older civil society players demand for training within citizen organizations as well as political parties in order to avoid the triumph of invective over argument. The organization of events such as concerts, mobilization gatherings, and tours throughout the country are further methods of diversifying the movement's activities.

Certain Senegalese cultural or religious activities are seen as good practices that have nurtured citizen movements. They include the humorous cousinhood and the confraternity, as well as Sufi Islam (particularly the allusion to Sufi saints as symbols of resistance to persecution), the Islamic-Christian dialogue, and other initiatives that have helped to consolidate citizen movements.

Media and social media participation has grown in popularity, particularly among the new generation of citizen movement activists. Currently, there are an increasing number of social media platforms that play an essential role in the media environment (Creation of channels on Youtube, Facebook, Instagram, Tik Tok etc)

Another effective strategy noted in the interviews is the use of culture, particularly music, to energize citizens. Y'En a Marre employed hip-hop and music in general to provide instructional concerts to as large an audience as possible. When the authorities banned these concerts, the movement resorted to urban poetry, which entails raising awareness through rap or slam poetry, which is rapidly growing due to the rapid and increasing coverage of the Internet and cell phones, by performing in the streets, on buses, and in public places. Initially, this movement used the World Social Forum to expand its prominence.

7. the digitalisation of the citizen space: challenges and issues of a new form of activism

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Social media has evolved into a public forum for the discussion and broadcast of citizen struggles on a local, national, and global scale. Facebook Pages are formed and have thousands of followers. Some are concerned with constitutional term limitations. Other causes, such as the massive shipwreck of Senegalese migrants at sea or in the desert, are also discussed and build communities (for example, the hashtag #FreeSenegal, which went viral and received over 2 million messages on Twitter). The hashtag, which was created during the first protests and quickly spread, was intended to serve as a sounding board to critique the flaws of Senegalese society while also listing remedies to them. Additional hashtags that have emerged include #liberezsonko, #AarSunuDemocracy, #Sunusenegal, #Kebetu, #Resistance, and others.

Senegalese from the diaspora, in particular, offer debate platforms on key and critical problems affecting Senegal. We might highlight Petroteam Monde, which was one of the first exchange and alert spaces on the exploitation of petroleum and gas resources. Nowadays, the Mafia kacc kacc page, which has 56,456 followers, appears to be closer to Ousmane Sonko's PASTEF (the main animator is currently in detention).

Social networks, led by Twitter, have played a critical part in the latest events of March 2021 and May 2022, even by those who do not speak French (material in national languages is becoming more prevalent; there is even a trend to identify the evils being opposed in local languages). As amplifiers, they have enabled a significant mobilization that has extended beyond boundaries, with information translated into numerous languages. A technique that allowed the exchange of information regarding the country's global status and caught the attention of the international community. "Thanks to them, we were able to alert the world to our situation without violence and demand our rights," stated a young student.

In social networks, certain citizen vigilance activities have been implemented. News sites that document the deaths, the demands of the demonstrators, the reasons for the crisis, photographs of political opponents still imprisoned, or writings published on the subject. Valuable documentary materials were gathered during these awful occurrences. Another notable activity found in the usage of social networks to foster solidarity among those who share a common purpose is the collection of donations for community members in need.

The analysis demonstrates the expanding role of information and communication technology in activists' and other citizen groups' repertoires of collective actions. "On the ground, they have used traditional struggle techniques such as marches, protests, news releases, sit-ins, and petitions. They also used the internet wisely, particularly social networks (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube). This technique has enabled them to distinguish themselves by employing mobilization strategies based on the performative force of staging as well as language practices that are at odds with those of the ruling elites. In their mobilization techniques on the ground, these movements thus alternate between the internet and on the field.⁴ "

⁴ Mamadou Dimé, Pascal Kapagama, Zakaria Soré & Ibrahima Touré, Between the street and the internet: protest practices and mobilisation strategies of Y'en a marre, Balai citoyen, Filimbi and Lucha, AFRICA AND

Yet, digitization cannot progress without the observation and condemnation of observed and criticized abuses (appearance of public insulators, defamatory practices and infringements on the private life notably of political or judicial authorities, etc.). Such violations among certain young activists make the State's senior officials uneasy, prompting them to consider enacting restrictive legislation against social networks. Perhaps it is partly because the state regards the "other" discourse about Senegal that is created and spread through social media as a danger.

Senegalese President Macky Sall has stated his determination to restrict social media once more. On May 3, 2022, the president addressed the union movement and had some harsh words for social media. *"What is happening here now cannot be accepted by any organized society. We'll put a stop to it one way or another"* declared the president. Aside from tracking out public insulters, what is at issue here is the restriction of freedom on social media.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The June 23, 2011 movement was a watershed moment in Senegalese democracy. The individuals who were at the core of its creation have written the golden letters that have enhanced the Senegalese success story.

We can remember that it was the citizen movement that caused the power in place to lose the initiative, and that this was the spark for the country's second political alternation. The strategies that were employed, as well as the actors' devotion in the face of numerous risks, allow us to comprehend that we lived through a political experience unprecedented in the country's history. Is it possible that anything like this will happen again? Several individuals draw parallels between the current scenario and the situation in 2011. Is it possible that civil society has the same ability for mobilization and mediation? What about the Senegalese model as it stands now?

According to some, civil society is much weaker today than it was in 2011. This deterioration is ascribed to the government's desire to weaken it, as well as internal divisions. A new civil society component is distinguished by its radicalism and regards the other component as collaborating with or tolerating the government. Even if the June 23 movement was spontaneous, these identified shortcomings may limit civil society's ability to carry out large-scale mobilizations.

Social network activists are also a new phenomenon that has an impact on social movements. This new tendency is expected to have an impact on the direction of citizen movements. With the introduction of new technology, everyone can make their voice heard, offer orders, or express their opinion without the need for a structure. Even if it is a good thing for the vitality, we must realize that there are opinion leaders who come to spread confusion someplace. We are seeing an increasing number of lone individuals, activists, rather than organizations or movements.

The rise of these activists on the internet is spurred by widespread mistrust about President Macky Sall's third campaign. But, this possibility is ruled out. As evidenced by a recent contribution by 102 Senegalese academics, mostly lawyers and political scientists, on the president's third candidacy: "In such a perspective, when the fundamental norm (Article 27 of the Constitution, which states that "no one can serve more than two consecutive terms") meets the value - the presidential admission of the impossibility of a third term - this anxiety-provoking silence, however, rustling with political calculation."Creating the enigma of a third term in office reduces our political future to the abyss of 2012. "

We cannot finish without highlighting the importance of civil society's involvement in the words of Michelle Bachelet, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, for whom "Civil society engagement is the bedrock of every democracy and any healthy society. A free civil society supports fruitful debate, freedom of thought and opinion, and public participation in governance."⁵

⁵ Michelle Bachelet, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights 2 October 2019, Dublin Platform for Human Rights Defenders.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

RADDHO: African Meeting for the Defence of Human Rights

M23: June 23 Movement

NTS: New Type of Senegalese

NTC: New Type of Citizen

COSEF: Senegalese Council of Women

COS M23: Commission Orientations et Stratégies du M23

M2D: Movement for the Defence of Democracy

FRAPP: Front for a Popular and Pan-African Anti-Imperialist Revolution

CSO: Civil Society Organisation

APRM: African Peer Review Mechanism

LSDH: Senegalese League for Human Rights

ECOWAS: Economic and Development Community of West Africa

FNDC: National Front for the Defence of the Constitution (Guinea)

COSCE: Civil Society Organisations for the Elections

PASTEUF : African Patriots of Senegal for work, ethics and fraternity

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